

A T R V E R E- lation of such occur-

rences and accidents of noateas
hath hapned in Virginia since the first
planting of that Collony, which is now
resident in the South part thereof, till
the last returne from
thence.

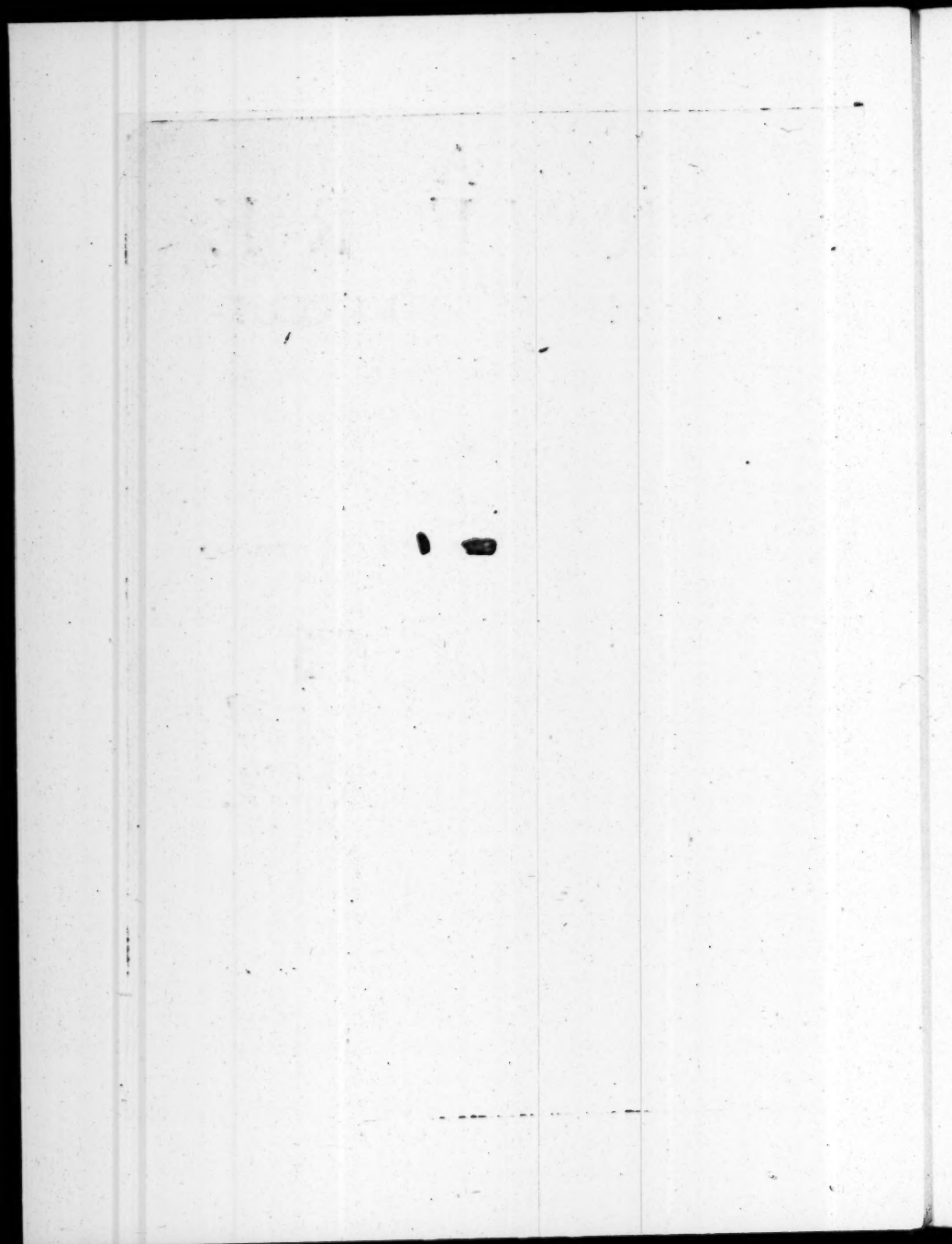
*Written by Captaine Smith ~~Colonell~~ of the said Collony, to a
worshipfull friend of his in England,*



L O N D O N

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1 6 0 8





To the Courteous Reader.

Courteous, Kind, & indifferent Readers, whose willingness to read & heare this following discourse, doth expaine to the world your hearty affection, to the prosecuting and furtherance of so worthy an action: so it is, that like to an vnskilfull actor, who hauing by misconstruction of his right Cue, ouer-slipt himselfe, in beginning of a contrary part, and fearing the hatefull hisse of the captious multitude, with a modest blush retires himselfe in priuate; as doubting the reprehension of his whole audience in publicke, and yet againe vpon further deliberation, thinking it better to know their censures at the first, and vpon submission to reape pardon, then by seeking to smother it, to incurre the danger of a secret scandall: Imboldening himselfe vpon the courteous kindnesse of the best, and not greatly respecting the worst, comes fourth againe, makes an Apologie for himselfe, shewes the cause of his error, craues pardon for his rashnes, and in fine, receiues a generall applauditie of the whole assemblie: so I gentle Readers, happening vpon this relation by chance (as I take it, at the second or third hand) induced thereunto by diuers well willers of the action, and none wishing better towards it then my selfe, so farre forth as my poore abilitie can or may stretch too, I thought good to publish it: but the Author being absent from the presse, it cannot be doubted but that some faults haue escaped in the printing, especially in the names of Countries,
¶ Townes,

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Townes, and People, which are somewhat strange vnto vs : but most of all, and which is the chiefe error, (for want of knowledge of the Writer) some of the bookes were printed vnder the name of *Thomas Watson*, by whose occasion I know not, vlesse it were the ouer rashnesse, or mistaking of the workemen, but since hauing learned that the faide discourse was written by *Captaine Smith*, who is one of the Counsell there in *Virginia*; I thought good to make the like Apologie, by shewing the true Author so farre as my selfe could learne, not doubting, but that the wise noting it as an error of ignorance, will passe it over with patience, and if worthy an applauditie, to reserue it to the Author, whose paines in my iudgement deserueth commendations; somewhat more was by him written, which being as I thought (fit to be private) I would not aduenture to make it publicke what more may be expected concerning the scituation of the Country, the nature, of the clime, number of our people there resident, the manner of their government, and liuing, the commodities to be produced, & the end & effect it may come too, I can say nothing more then is here written, only what I haue learned and gathered from the generall consens of all (that I haue conuersed withall) as well mariners as others, which haue had employemēt that way; is that the Country is excellēt & pleasant, the clime temperate and healthfull, the ground fertill and good, the commodities to be expected (if well followed) many, for our people, the worst being already past, these former hauing indured the heate of the day, whereby those that shall succede, may at ease labour for their profit, in the most sweete, coole, and temperate shade: the action most honorable, and the end to the high glory of God, to the erecting of true religion among Infidells, to the overthrow of superstition and idolatrie, to the winning of many

To the Reader.

many thousands of wandring sheepe, vnto Christs fold, who now, and till now, haue strayed in the vnknowne paths of Paganisme, Idolatrie, and superstition: yea, I say the Action being well followed, as by the graue Senators, and worthy aduenturors, it hath beene worthily begunne: will tend to the euerlasting renowne of our Nation, and to the exceeding good and benefit of our Weale publicke in generall: whose Counsell, labours, godly and industrious endeouours, I beseech the mightie *Iehonah* to blesse, prosper, and further, with his heavenly ayde, and holy assistance,

Farewell.

I. H.





A

True relation of such occurrences
and accidents of note, as hath hapned in Vir-
ginia, since the first planting of that Collony,
which is now resident in the South part
thereof, till the last returne.

KInde Sir, commendations re-
membred, &c. You shall understand
that after many crosses in the downes
by tempests, wee arrived safely vpon
the South west part of the great Ca-
naries: within foure or five daies after
we set saile for Dominica, the 26. of
April: the first land we made, wee fell
with Cape Henry, the verie mouth of
the Bay of Chissipiacke, which at that present we little ex-
pected, hauing by a cruell storme bene put to the Northward:
anchoring in this Bay twentie or thirtie went a boze with
the Captain, and in comming aboard, they were assailed with
certaine Indians, which charged them within Pistoll shot: in
which conflict, Captaine Archer and Mathew Morton were
shot: wherupon, Captaine Newport seconding them, made a
shot at them, which the Indians little respected, but hauing
spent their arrowes retzied without harme, and in that place
was the War opened, wherein the Counsell for Virginia was
nominated: and arriving at the place where we are now sea-
ted, the Counsell was swoorne, the President elected, which for
that yeare was Paister Edm. Maria Wingfield, where was

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made choice for our situation, a better sit^t place for the erecting of a great citie, about which some contention passed betwixt Captaine Wingfield and Captaine Gosnold, notwithstanding all our provision was brought a sho^re, and with as much speed as might bee we went about our fortification.

The two and twenty day of Aprill, Captain Newport and my selfe with diuers others, to the number of twenty two persons, set forward to discover the Riuer, some fiftie or fiftie miles, finding it in some places broader, & in some narrower, the Countrie (for the moste part) on each side plaine high ground, with many fresh springes, the people in all places kindly intreating vs, dauncing and feasting vs with Strawberries, Pulberies, Bread, Fish, and other their Countrie provisions wherof we had plenty: for which Captaine Newport kindly requited their least fauours with Beles, Dunces, Needles, beades or Glasse, which so contented them that his liberallitie made them follow vs from place to place, and euer kindly to respect vs. In the midway staying to refresh our selves in a little Ile foure or fve sanages came vnto vs which described vnto vs the course of the Riuer, and after in our iourney they often met vs, trading with vs for such provision as we had, and arriuing at Arfarecke, hee whom we supposed to bee the chiefe King of all the rest, moste kindly entertained vs, giving vs in a guide to go with vs by the Riuer to Powhatan, of which place their great Emper^{or} taketh his name, where he that they honored for King vsed vs kindly. But to finish this discouerie, we passed on further, where within an ile we were intercepted with great craggy stones & in midst of the riuer, where the water falleth so rudely, and with such a violence, as not any boat can possibly passe, and so broad disperseth the streame, as there is not past fve or sixe foote at a low water, and to the sho^re scarce passage with a barge, the water floweth foure foote, and the streches by reason of the Rocks haue left markes of the inundations 8. or 9. foote: The south side is plaine low ground, and the north side high mountaines,

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mountaines, the rocks being of a grauelly nature, interlaced with many vaines of gliffring spangles. That night we returned to Powhatan: the next day (being Whitfunday after dinner) we returned to the falls, leaving a mariner in payon with the Indians for a guide of theirs, her that they honoured for being followed vs by the riuer. That afternoone we trilled in looking vpon the Rocks and riuer (further he would not goe) so there we erected a crosse, and that night taking our man at Powhatans, Cap. Newport congratulated his kindenes with a Cowen and a Hatchet: returning to Arfetecke, and stayed there the next day to obserue the height thereof, & so with many signes of loue we departed. The next day the Quene of Agamatack kindly intreated vs, her people being no less contented then the rest, and from thence we went to another place, (the name whereof I doe not remember) where the people shewed vs the manner of their dining for Shuffels, in which they finde Pearles.

That night passing by Weanock some twentie miles from our Fort, they according to their former churlish condition, seemed little to affect vs, but as we departed and lodged at the point of Weanocke, the people the next morning seemed kindly to content vs, yet we might perceiue many signes of a more Jealousie in them then before, and also the Hinde that the King of Arfeteck had giuen vs, altered his resolution in going to our Fort, and with many kinde circumstances left vs there. This gaue vs some occasion to doubt some mischief at the Fort, yet Capt. Newport intended to haue visited Paspahegh and Tappahanocke, but the instant change of the winde being faire for our return, we repaired to the fort with all speed, where the first we heard was that 400. Indians the day before had assailed the fort, & suppressed it, had not God (beyond all their expectations) by means of the shippes at whom they shot with their Ordnances & Shuskets, caused them to retire, they had entered the fort with our own men, which were then busied in setting Cozne, their armes being then in disorder & so lew ready but certain Gentlem of their own, in which conflict

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conflict, most of the Counsel was hurt, a boy slaine in the Pin-
nas, and thirteene or fourteene more hurt. Withall speede we
pallisadoed our Fort: (each other day) for five or seauen daies
we had alarmes by ambuscadoes, and foure or five cruelly
wounded by being abroad: the Indians losse wee know not,
but as they report three were slaine and diuers hurt.

Captaine Newport having set things in order, set saile for
England the 22 of June, leaving provision for 13. or 14
weekes. The day before the Ships departure, the King of Pa-
maunke sent the Indian that had met vs before in our disco-
uery, to assure vs peace, our fort being then pallisadoed round,
and all our men in good health and comfort, albeit, that though
some discontented humors, it did not so long continue, for the
President and Captaine Gofnold, with the rest of the Coun-
sell, being for the most part discontented with one another, in
so much, that things were neither carried with that discretion
nor any business effected in such good sort as wisdome would,
nor our owne good, and safetie required thereby, and though
the hard dealing of our President, the rest of the counsell bee-
ing diuersly affected through his audacious command, and
for Captaine Martin, (albeit verie honest) and wishing the
best good, yet so sicke and weake, and my selfe so disgrac'd
through others mallice, through which disorder God (being
angrie with vs) plagued vs with such famine and sickness, that
the lining were scarce able to bury the dead: our want of suffi-
cient and good victuals, with continuall watching, foure or
five each night at three Bulwarkes, being the chiefe
cause: onely of Staruion wee had great store, where-
on our men would so greedily surfet, as it cost manye
their liues: the Beack, Aquauitie, and other preseruatiues for
our health, being kept onely in the Presidents hands, for his
owne diet, and his few associates: shortly after Captaine Gof-
nold fell sicke, and within three weekes died, Captaine Rat-
cliffe being then also verie sicke and weake, and my selfe ha-
ving also tasted of the extremitie therof, but by Gods assistance
being well recovered. Kendall about this time, for diuers
reasons

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reasons deposed from being of the Councell; and shortly after it pleased God (in our extremity) to moue the Indians to bring vs Cozne, ere it was halfe ripe, to refresh vs, when we rather expected when they would destroy vs: about the tenth of September there was about 46. of our men dead, at which time Captaine Wingfield hauing ordered the affaires in such sort that he was generally hated of all, in which respect with one consent he was deposed from his presidentie, and Captaine Ratcliffe according to his course was elected.

Our provision being now within twentie dayes spent, the Indians brought vs great store both of Cozne and bread ready made: and also there came such abundance of fowles into the Riuers, as greatly refreshed our weake estates, wherevpon many of our weake men were presently able to goe abroad. As yet we had no houses to couer vs, our Tents were rotten, and our Cabbins worse then nought: our best commodity was Iron which we made into little chisels, the president, and Captaine Martins sickness, constrained me to be Cape Merchant, and yet to spare no paines in making houses for the company, who notwithstanding our misery, little ceased their mallice, grudging and muttering. As at this time were most of our chiefeest men either sick or discontented, the rest being in such dispaire, as they would rather starue and rot with idleness, then be perswaded to do any thing for their owne reliefe without constraint: our victualles being now within eighteene dayes spent, and the Indians trade decreasing, I was sent to the mouth of y^e riuer, to Kegouonhan an Indian Towne, to trade for Cozne, and try the riuer for fish, but our fishing we could not effect by reason of the stormy weather. The Indians thinking vs neare famished, with carelesse kindness, offered vs little pieces of bread, & small handfuls of beanes or wheat, for a hatchet or a piece of copper: In the like maner I entertained their kindness, and in like sort offered them like commodities, but the Children, or any that shewed extraordinary kindness, I liberally contented with free gifts, such trifles as wel contented them: finding this course

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comfort, I anchored before the Towne, and the next day returned to trade, but God (the absolute disposer of all heartes) altered their conceits, so; now they were no lesse desirous of our commodities then we of their Cozne: under colour to fetch fresh water, I sent a man to discover the Towne, their Cozne, and so;re, to trie their intent, in that they desired me up to their houses: which well understanding, with some shot I visited them, with fish, opfers, beads and deere, they kindly traded with me and my men, being no lesse in doubt of my intent, then I of theirs, so; well I might with twentie men haue freighted a Shippe with Cozne: The Towne containeth eightene houses, pleasantly seated upon thye acres of ground, bypon a plaine, halfe incircled with a great Bay of the great River, the other parte with a Baye of the other River falling into the great Baye, with a little Ile sit for a Castle in the mouth thereof, the Towne adioyning to the maine by a necke of Land of fiftie yardes. With fiftene bushells of Cozne I returned towards our Fort: by the way I encountred with two Canoes of Indians, who came aboard me, being the inhabitants of warokoyack, a kingdome on the south side of the river, which is in breadth 5. miles and 20 mile or neare from the mouth: with these I traded, who hauing but their hunting prouision, requested me to returne to their Towne, where I should load my boat with cozne, & with near thirtie bushells I returned to the fort, the very name wherof gaue great comfort to our departing company: time thus passing away, & hauing not aboue 14. daies vituals left, some motions were made about our proceedings & Capt. Archer going for England, to procure a supply, in which meane time we had reasonably fitted vs with houses, and our President & Capt. Martin being able to walk abroad, with much ado it was concluded, that the pinnace and barge should goe towards Powhatan, to trade for cozne: Letts were cast who should go in her, the chance was mine, & while she was a rigging, I made a voyage to Topohanack, where arriving, there was but certain women & children who fled from their houses, yet at last I drew them to draw nere, truck they durst

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durst not, came they had plenty, & to spoile I had no comission:
 In my returne to Paspahegh, I traded with that churlish &
 treacherous nation: hauing loaded 10 or 12 bushels of cozne,
 they offered to take our pieces and swords, yet by stealth, but se-
 eming to dislike it, they were ready to assault vs, yet standing v-
 pon our guard in coasting the shore, diners out of the woods
 would meet with vs with corn & trade, but least we should be
 constrained, either to indure ouermuch wrong or directly sal to
 reuenge, seeing them dog vs, from place to place, it being night,
 & our necessitie not fit for warren, we tooke occasion to returne
 with 10 bushells of cozne: Cap. Martin after made 2 iournies
 to that nation of Paspahegh but eache time returned with 8.
 or 10. bushells. All things being now ready for my Iourney to
 Powhatan, for the performance thereof, I had 8. men and my
 selfe for the barge, as well for discoverie, as trading, the Pin-
 nace, 5. Parriners, & 2. landmen to take in our loadings at con-
 uenient places. The 9 of Nouember I set forward for the dis-
 couery of the country of Chikahamania, leauing the pinnace
 the next tide to followe and stay for my comming at Point
 weanock, 20 miles from our fort: the mouth of this river fal-
 leth into the great river at Paspahegh, 8 miles above our fort:
 that afternoone I stayed the eb, in the bay of Paspahegh with
 the Indians: towards the evening certaine Indians hailed me,
 one of them being of Chikahamania, offered to conduct me to his
 country, the Paspaheghians grudged therat: along we went
 by moonelight, at midnighr he brought vs before his towne,
 desiring one of our men to go by with him, whom he kindly
 entertained, and returned back to the barge: the next morning
 I went by to the towne, and shewed them what copper and
 hatchets they shold haue for cozne, each family seeking to giue
 me most content: so long they caused me to stay & 100 at least
 was expecting my comming by the river with cozne, what I
 liked I bought, and least they should perceiue my too great
 want I went higher by the river: this place is called Manot-
 quosick a quarter of a mile from the river, containing thirtie
 or fortye houses, vpon an exceeding high land: at the foote
 of the hill towards the river, is a plaine wood, watered
 with many springes, which fall twentie yardes right downe

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into the river: right against þ same is a great marsh, of 4. or 5. miles circuit, deuided in 2 Islands, by the parting of the river, abounding with fish & foules of all sorts: a mile from thence is a Towne called Oraniocke, I further discovered the Townes of Mansa, Apahock, Werawahone, & Mamanahut at the place kindly vlsed, especially at the last, being the hart of the Country, where were assembled 200. people with such abundance of corne, as hauing laded our barge, as also I might haue laded a ship: I returned to Paspahhegh, & considering þ want of Corne at our fort, it being night, with þ ebb, by midnight I arrived at our fort, where I found our Winnis run aground: the next morning I vnladed seaue hogheads into our store, the next morning I returned againe: the second day I arrived at Mamanahut, wher þ people hauing heard of my coming, were ready with 3 or 400. baskets litle & great, of which hauing laded my barge, with many signes of great kindnes I returned: at my departure they requested me to hear our pierces, being in the midst of the river, which in regard of þ echo seemed a peale of ordinance, many birds and foules they see vs daily kil that much feared them, so desirous of trade wer they, þ they would follow me with their canowes, & for any thing giue it me, rather then retorne it back: so I vnladed again 7 or 8 hogheads at our fort. Hauing thus by Gods assistance gotten good store of corne, notwithstanding some bad spirits not content with Gods providence, still grew mutinous, in so much, that our president hauing occasion to chide the smith for his misdeame: nor, he not only gaue him bad language, but also offered to strike him with some of his tooles, for which rebellious act, the smith was by a Jury condemned to be hanged, but being vpon the ladder continuing verry obstinate, as hoping vpon a rescue: when he saw no other way but death with him, he became penitent, & declared a dangerous conspiracy, for which Captains Kendall as principal, was by a Jury condemned & shot to death. This conspiracy appeased, I set forward for the discovery of the Miner of Checka Hamania: this third time I discovered þ Townes of Matapamient, Morinogh, Ascacap, moyscenock, Righkahauk, Nechanichock, Martalut, Attamuspinke, & diuers others, their plenty of corne I found decreased, yet la-

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ding the barge, I returned to our fort: our store being now indifferently well provided with corne, there was much adoe for to haue the pinace goe for England, against which Captain Martin & my selfe, standing chiefly against it, and in fine after many debates, pro & contra, it was resolved to stay a further resolution: this matter also quieted, I set forward to finish this discovery, which as yet I had neglected in regard of the necessities we had to take in provision whilst it was to be had: 40. miles I passed by the river, which for the most part is a quarter of a mile broad, & 3. fathome & a half deep, exceeding oley, many great low marshes, & many high lands, especially about the midst at a place called Moysonicke, a Peninsule of 4. miles circuit, betwixt two rivers ioyned to the main, by a neck of 40. or 50. yards, and 40. or 50. yards from the high water marks: on both sides in the very necke of the maine, are high hills and dales, yet much inhabited, the Ile declining in a plaine fertile corne field, the lower end a low marsh, more plentie of swannes, cranes, geese, duckes, and mallards, & diuers sorts of fowles none would desire: more plaine fertile planted ground, in such great proportions as there I had not seene, of a light blacke sandy mould, the cliffts commonly red, white and yellowe coloured sand, & vnder red & white clay, fish great plenty, & people abundance, the most of their inhabitants, in view of the neck of Land, where a better seat for a towne cannot be desired: at the end of forty miles this river inuironeth many low Islands, at each high water doctored for a mile, where it vniteth it selfe, at a place called Apokant the highest Towne inhabited. 10. miles higher I discovered with the barge: in the mid way, a great tree hindered my passage which I cut in two: here the river became narrower, 8. or 10. foote at a high water, and 6. or 7. at a lowe: the streame exceeding swift, & the bottom hard channell, the ground most part a low plaine, sandy soyle, this occasioned me to suppose it might issue from some lake or some broad ford, for it could not be far to the head, but rather then I would endanger the barge, yet to haue bene able to resolve this doubt, & to discharge the imputation of malicious tongues, that halfe suspected I durst not for so long delaying, some of the company as desirous as my selfe, we resolved to pierce a Ca-

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now, and returne with the barge to Apocant, there to leane
the barge secute, and put our selues vpon the aduantage:
the country onely a ball and wilde wilderness, and but onely
that Colone: within three or foure mile we hired a Canoe,
and 2. Indians to rowe us & next day a fowling: hauing made
such provision for the barge as was needfull, I left her there to
ride, with expresse charge not any to go ashore til my returne.
Though some wise men may condemne this too bold attempt
of too much indiscretion, yet if they well consider the friendship
of the Indians, incompassing vs, the desolatenes of the coun-
try, the probability of some lacke, & the malicious iudges of my
aitions at home as also to haue some matters of worth to in-
courage our aduenturers in england, might well haue caused
any honest minde to haue done the like, as wel for his owne dis-
charge as for the publike good: hauing 2 Indians for my guide
& 2 of our own company, I set forthwards, leauing 7 in the barge:
hauing discovered 20 miles further in this desert, the river still
kept his depth and breadth, but much more combed with trees:
here we went ashore (being some 12 miles higher then the barge
had bene) to refresh our selues, during the boyling of our victu-
als: one of the Indians I took with me, to see the nature of the
soile, & to make the height of the riuer, the other Indian I
left with Mr. Robinson and Thomas Emory, with their mat-
ches light and order to discharge a peece, for my retreat at the
first sight of any Indian, but within a quarter of an houre I
heard a loud cry, and a hollowing of Indians, but no warning
peece, supposing them surprised, and that the Indians had be-
traid us, presently I sayed him bound his arme fast to my
hand in a garter, with my pistoll ready bent to be reneged on
him: he aduised me to fly, and seemed ignorant of what was
done, but as we went discourting, I was struck with an ar-
row on the right thigh, but without harme: vpon this occasion
I espied 2 Indians drawing their bowes, which I presented
in discharging a french pistoll: by that I had charged againe 3
or 4 more did the like, for the first fell downe and fled: at my
discharge they did the like, my hinde I made my barricado
who offered not to striue, 20. or 30. arrowes were shot at me
but short, 3 or 4 times I had discharged my pistoll ere the
kin

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king of Pamaūck called Opeckākenough with 200 men, in
 murthered me, each drawing their bowe, which done they laid
 them upon the ground, yet without shot, my hinde treated be-
 twist them and me of conditions of peace, he discouered me to
 be the Captaine, my request was to retire to y^e boate, they de-
 manded my armes, the rest they saide were slaine, onely
 me they would reserve: the Indian importuned me not to
 shoot. In retiring being in the midst of a lowe quagmire, and
 minding them more then my steps, I fell fast into the quag-
 mire, and also the Indian in drawing me forth: thus sur-
 prised, I resolved to trie their mercies, my armes I calke from
 me, till which none durst approach me: being ceazed on me, they
 drew me out and led me to the King, I presented him with
 a compasse diall, describing by my best meanes the life therof,
 wherewith he so amazedly admired, as he suffered me to proceed
 in a discourse of the roundnes of the earth, the course of the
 sunne, moone, starres and planets, with kinde speeches and
 bread he requited me, conducting me where the Canow lay
 and John Robbinson slaine, with 20 or 30. arrowes in him.
 Emry I saw not, I perceived by the abundance of fires
 all ouer the woods, at each place I expected when they would
 execute me, yet they bled me with what kindnes they
 could: approaching their Towne, which was within 6 miles
 where I was taken, onely made as arbores and couered with
 mats, which they remove as occasion requires: all the wo-
 men and children, being aduertised of this accident, came
 forth to meet them, the King well guarded with 20 bowmen
 & flank and rear, and each flank before him a sword & a pice,
 and after him the like, then a bowman, then I on each hand
 a boweman, the rest in file in the reare, which reare led forth
 amongst the trees in a bishon, each his bowe and a handfull
 of arrowes, a quiner at his back gumly painted: on each
 flank a sargeant, the one running alwaies towarde the front
 the other towards the reare, each a true pace and in exceeding
 good order, this being a good time continued, they sett them-
 selves in a ring with a vauce, and so each man departed to
 his

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his lodging, the Captain continuing me to his lodging, a quarter of Wenison and some few pounds of bread I had for supper, what I left was reserved for me, and sent with me to my lodging: each morning 5 women possessed me with a great platters of fine bread, more venison then ten men could devour I had, my golwe, points and garters, my compas and a tablet they gave me again, though 8 ordinarily guarded me, I wanted not what they could devise to content me: and still our longer acquaintance increased our better affection: much they threatened to assault our forts, as they were solicited by the King of Paspahegh, who shewed at our fort great signes of sorrow for this mischance: the King tooke great delight in understanding the manner of our ships, and saying the seas, the earth & skies and of our God: what he knew of the dominions he spared not to acquaint me with, as of certaine men clothed at a place called Ocanahonan, clothed like me, the course of our river, and that within 4 or 5 daies journey of the fallies, was a great turning of salt water: I desired he would send a messenger to Paspahegh, with a letter I would write, by which they should understand, how kindly they used me, and that I was well, least they should revenge my death: this he granted and sent three men, in such weather, as in reason were impossible, by any naked to be indured: their cruell windes towards the fort I had deuerted, in describing the ordinance & the mines in the fields, as also the reuenge Captain Newport would take of them at his returne, their intent, I incerted the fort, the people of Ocanahonum and the back sea, this report they after found diuers Indians that confirmed: the next day after my letter, came a salvage to my lodging, with his sword to haue slaine me, but being by my guard intercepted, with a bowe and arrow he offered to haue effected his purpose: the cause I knew not, till the King understanding thereof came and told me of a man a dying, wounded with my pistoll: he told me also of another I had slayne, yet the most concealed they had any hurt: this was the father of him I had slayne, whose fury to prevent, the King presently conducted me to another Kingdom, upon

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upon the top of the next northerly river, called Youghanan, having traileed me, he further led me to another branch of the river, called Mattapament, to two other hunting townes they led me, and to each of these Countries, a house of the great Emperour of Pewhakan, whom as yet I supposed to bee at the Falls, to him I tolde him I must goe, and so returne to Paspageh, after this foure or five dayes march, we returned to Rasawrack, the first towne they brought me to, where binding the Spots in bundles, they marched two dayes journey, and crossed the River of Youghanan, where it was as broad as Thames: so conducting me to a place called Menapacute in Pamaunke, where a King inhabited: the next day another King of that nation called Kekataugh, having received some kindnes of me at the first, kindly invited me to feast at his house, the people from all places flocked to see me, each shewing to content me. By this the great King hath foure or five houses, each containing fourscore or an hundred roote in length, pleasantly seated upon an high sandy hill, from whence you may see westwardly a goodly low Country, the river befoze the which his crooked corrie causeth many great Partyes of exceeding good ground. An hundred houses, and many large plaines are here together inhabited, moze abundance of fische soyle, and a pleasanter seat cannot be imagined: the King with fortye Women to guard me, intreated me to discharge my Pistol, which they there presented me with a mark of sixe score to strike therewith but to spoil the piece I broke the cocke, whereat they were much discontented though a chance supposed.

From hence this kind King conducted mee to a place called Topahanocke, a kingdome vpon another River northward: the cause of this was, that the yeare befoze, a shippe had bene in the River of Pamaunke, who having bene kindly entertained by Powhatan their Emperour, they returned thence, and discovered the River of Topahanocke, where being received with like kindnes, yet he sawe the King, and looks of his people, and they supposed I were hee, but the people reported him a great man that was Captaine, and vntill mee kindly, the

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next day we departed.

This River of Topahanock, somewhat in breadth not much less then that we dwell upon. At the mouth of the River is a Countrey called Currata women upwards is Marranhatum Tapohanock; Appamatuck, and Nantungstacum; at Topmanahocks, the head issuing from many fountains, the next night I lodged at a hunting town of Powhatams, and the next day arrived at Weramocomoco upon the river of Pamunke, where the great king is resident: by the way we passed by the top of another little river, which is betwixt the two called Payankatank. The most of this Countrey though Desert, yet is: being fertile, good timber, most hills and dales, in each valley a cristall spring.

Arriving at Weramocomoco their Emperour, proudly lying upon a Bedstead a foote high upon tenne or twelue Mattes, richly hung with manie Chaynes of great Pearles about his necke, and covered with a great Concering of Rahanghums: At heade sat a woman, at his feet another, on each side sitting upon a Matte upon the ground were ranged his chiefe men on each side the fire, tenne in a ranke, and behinde them as many yong women, each a great Chaine of white Beades over their Shoulders: their heades painted in redde and with such a grave and Solemnall countenance, as drew me into admiration to see such State in a naked Saluage, hee kindly welcomed me with good wordes, and great Platters of sundrie Viands, assuring mee his friendship, and my libertie within foure dayes, hee much delighted in Opechan Comoughs relation of what I had described to him, and oft examined me upon the same. Hee asked mee the cause of our coming, I tolde him being in fight with the Spaniards our enemies, being overpowered neare put to retreat, and by extremes weather put to this choice, where landing at Chespiack, the people shot vs, but at Kequoughtan they kindly died vs, we by signes demanded fresh water, they described vs by the River was all fresh water, at Paspahegh, also they kindly died vs, our Pinns being leake wee were enforced to
Ray

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stay to mend her, till Captaine Newport my father came to conduct us away. He demanded why we went further with our Boate, I tolde him, in that I would have occasion to talke of the backe Sea, that on the other side the maine, where was salt water, my father had a childe slain, whiche we supposed Menocan his enemy, whose death we intended to revenge.

After good deliberation, he began to describe mee the Countreys beyonde the fallies, with many of the rest, confirming what not onely Opechancanoyes, and an Indian which had bene prisoner to Pewhatan had before tolde mee, but some called it *Amoyes*, some *Amey*, some right, where the sayde water dashed amongst many stones and rocks, each stone which caused oft tymes the heade of the River to bee backish: Anchanachuck he described to bee the people that had slain my brother, whose death he would revenge. He described also upon the same Sea, a mighty Nation called Pocoughtronack, a fierce Nation that did eate men, and warred with the people of Moyaoncer, and Pataromerke, Nations upon the toppes or the heads of the Bay, under his territories, where the yeare before they had slain an hundred, he signified their crownes were shaven, long haire in the necke, tied on a knot, & woode like Dollars.

Beyond them he described people with short Coates, and sleeves to the Elbowes, that passed that way in Shippes like ours. Many Kingdomes he described mee to the heads of the Bay, which seemed to bee a mightie River, issuing from mightie Mountaines betwixt the two Seas, the people cloathed at Ocamahowan. He also confirmed, and the Neighbourly Countreys also, as the rest, that reported us to be within a day & a halfe of Mangoge, two dayes of Chawwonock, 6. frō Roanock, to the south part of the backe sea: he described a countrie called Anone, where they have abundance of Blasse, and houses walled as ours. I requested his discourse, seeing what pride he had in his great and spacious Dominions, seeing that all he knewe were under his Territories.

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In describing to him the territories of Europe, which was subject to our great King: whose subject I was, the innumerable multitude of his ships, I gave him to understand the noyse of Trumpets, and terrible manner of fighting were under captain Newport my father, whom I intitled the Meworames to which they call King of all the waters, at his greatnesse hee admired, and not a little feared: hee desired mee to forsake Paspaliegh, and to live with him upon his River, a Countrie called Capa Howasicke: hee promised to give me Cozne, Wenton, & what I wanted to save he, Hatchets and Copper wee should make him, and none should disturbe us. This request I promised to percoyme: and thus having with all the kindnes hee could devise, sought to content me: hee sent me home with 4. men, one that usually carried my Cotons and Knapsacks after me, two other loaded with bread, and one to accompanie me.

This River of Pamaunke is not past twelvas mile from that we dwell on, his course northweest, and weesterly, as the other. Weraocomoco, is upon salt water, in breadth two myles, and so keepeth his course without any farrying some twenty miles, where at the parting of the fresh water and the salt, it divideth it selfe into two partes, the one part to Goughland, as broad as Thames, and navigable, with a Boate threescore & fourescore miles, and with a Shipps fittie, exceding crooked, and many low grounds and marshes, but inhabited with abundance of warlike and tall people. The Countrey of Youghtomam, of no lesse worth, onely it is lower, but all the soyle, a fatte, fertill, sandie ground. Above Manapacumter, many high sandie Spountaines. By the River is many Rocks, seeming if not of severall Pines: The other branch a little lesse in breadth, yet extendeth not neare so farre, nor so well inhabited, somewhat lower, and a white sandie, and a white clay soyle: here is their best Terra Sigillata: The mouth of the River, as I see in the discoverie therof with captain Newport, is halfe a mile broad, & within foure miles not above a Gunnet shot: the channell exceding good and deepe, the River straight to the demissions. Kiskirk the nearest Nation to the entrances.

Their

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Their religion and Ceremonie I obserued was thus: theye
oʒ foure dayes after my taking lenen of them in the house where
I lay, each with a rattle began at ten a clocke in the morning to
sing about the fire, which they intwined with a Circle of
meale, and after a foote oʒ two from that, at the end of each song,
layde downe two oʒ three graines of wheate, continuing this or-
der till they haue included fire oʒ seven hundred in a halfe Circle,
and after that two oʒ three moze Circles in like maner, a hand
brydth from other: that done, at each song, they put betwixt eue-
rie three, two oʒ five graines, a little sticke, so counting as an
old woman her Pater noster.

One disguised with a great Skinne, his head hung round
with little Skinnes of Weasels, and other vermine, with a
Crownet of feathers on his head, painted as ugly as the diuell,
at the end of each song will make many signes and demonstra-
tions, with strange and vehement actions, great cakes of Waxe
suet, Wears, and Tobacco he casteth in the fire, till fire a clocke
in the Evening, their howling would continue ere they would
depart. Each morning in the coldest frost, the principall to the
number of twentie oʒ thirtie, assembled themselves in a round
circle, a good distance from the towne, where they told me they
there consulted where to hunt the next day: so sat they too mee,
that I much doubted they intended to haue sacrificed mee to the
Quiyoughquosicke, which is a superiour power they wor-
ship, a moze ugly thing cannot be described: one they haue for
chief sacrifices, which also they call Quiyoughquosick: to cure
the sick, a man with a Kettle, and extreme howling, howling,
singing, and such violent gestures, and Anticke actions ouer
the patient will sucke out blood and flegme from the patient out
of their vnable stomacks, oʒ any diseased place, as no labour will
moze tire them, Tobacco they offer the water in passing in tobole
weather. The death of any they lament with great sorrow and
weeping: their Kings they burie betwixt two mattes within
their houses, with all his beaues, Jewels, hatchets, and copper: the
other in granes like ours. They acknowledge no resurrection.
Powhatan hath three brethren, and two sisters, each of his bre-

Newes from Virginia.

theren succeded other.

For the Colonie, their heyres inherite not, but the first heyres of the Sisters, and so successing the woemens heires: For the Kings haue as many woemen as they will, his Subiects two, and most but one.

From Weramocomoco is but 12. miles, yet the Indians trilled away that day, and would not goe to our fozte by any persuasions: but in certaine olde hunting houses of Paspahegh we lodged all night. The next morning ere Sunne rise, we set fozward for our fozt, where we arrived within an houre, where each man with the truest signes of ioy they could expresse welcommed me, except M. Archer, and some 2. or 3. of his, who was then in my absence, swoyne Counsellour, though not with the consent of Capitaine Martin: great blame and imputation was laide upon me by them, for the losse of our two men which the Indians slew: insomuch that they purposed to depole me, but in the midst of my miseries, it pleased God to send Capitaine Newport, who arriuing there the same night, so tripled our ioy, as for a while these plots against me were deferred, though with much malice against me, which captain Newport in that time did plainly see. Now was master Scriuener, capitaine Martin, and my selfe, called Counsellors.

Within five or sixe dayes after the arrivall of the ship, by a mischance our fozt was burned, and the most of our apparell, lodging and private provision, many of our old men diseased, and of our new for want of lodging perished. The Emperour Powhatan each weeke once or twice sent me many presents of Deare, bread Raugroughcuns, halfe alwayes for my father, whom he much desired to see, and halfe for me, and so continually importuned by messengers and presents, that I would come to fetch the coyne, and take the Countrie their King had given me, as at last Capitaine Newport resolved to go for him. Such acquaintance I had amongst the Indians, and such confidence they had in me, as neare the fozt they would not come till I came to them, every of them calling me by my name, would not sell any thing till I had first receined their presents, and what they

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they had that I liked, they deferred to my discretion: but after acquaintance, they usually came into the Fort at their pleasure: The President, and the rest of the Conncell, they knewe not, but Captaine Newports greatest he I had so described, as they conceived him the chiefe, the rest his children, Officers, and servants. We had agreed with y^e king of Paspahagh to conduct two of our men to a place called Panawicke beyond Reconok, where he reported many men to be appalled. We lanted him at Warraskoyack, where playing the villaine, and deluding vs for rewards, returned within three or foure dayes after without going further. Captaine Newport, maister Scrimner, and my selfe, found the mouth of Pamuncks river, some 25. or 30. miles northward from Cape Henricke, the chanel good as before expressed.

Arriving at Weramocomoco, being jealous of the intent of this politick salage, to discover his intent the better, I with 20. Not armed in Jacks went a shoze, the Bay where he dwelleth bath in it 3. cricks, and a mile and a halfe from the chanel all east, being conducted to the towne, I found my selfe mistaken in the cricke, for they al there were within lesse then a mile, the Emperors sonne called Naukaquawis, the captaine that took me, and divers others of his chiefe men conducted me to their kings habitation, but in the mid way I was intercepted by a great crack over which they had made a brydge of grained staves & railes, the king of Kiskieck, and Namontack, who all the journey the king had sent to guide vs, had conducted vs this passage, which caused me to suspect some mischief: the barge I had sent to meet me at the right lanning, when I found my selfe first deceived, and knowing by experience the weak of their courages to proceede from others feare, though I loved the passage, I intermingled the Kings sonne, our conductors, and his chiefe men amongst ours, and led forthward, leaving halfe at the one end to make a guard for the passage of the front. The Indians seeing the weakenesse of the Brydge, came with a Canow, and took me in of the middlest with foure or five more, being landed wee made a guard for the rest till all were passed, two in a rank.

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a ranke two marched to the Emperors house. Before his house stood twelve or fiftie great Platters of fine bread, being entred the house, with louds tunes they all made signes of great ioy. This proude saluage, having his finest women, and the principall of his chiefe men assembled, sate in rankes as before is exprested, himselfe as vpon a Throne at the vpper ende of the house, with such a Maiestie as I cannot expresse, nor yet haue often scene, either in Pagan or Christian, with a kinde countenance hee had mee welcoms, and caused a place to bee made by himselfe to sit, I presented him a suite of red cloath, a white Greyhound, and a Hatte, as Jewels he esteemed them, and with a great Oracion made by thre of his Nobles, if there be any amongst Saluages, kindly accepted them, with a publicke confirmation of a perpetuall league and friendship.

After that, he commanded the Quene of Apamatuc, a comely yong Saluage, to giue me water, a Turkie-cocke, and breade to eate: being thus feasted, hee began his discourse to this purpose. Your kinde visitation hath much content mee, but where is your father whom I much desire to see, is he not with you. I told him he remained absent, but the next day he would come vnto him, with a merrie countenance he asked me for certaine pieces I which promised him, when I went to Paspahegh, I told according to my promise, that I proffered the man that went with me foure Deere Coluerings, in that he so desired a great Gunne, but they refused to take them, whereat with a louds laughter, he desired to giue him some of leese burthen, as for the other I gaue him them, being sure that none could carrie them: but where are these men you promised to come with you, I told him without, who ther vpon gaue order to haue them brought in, two after two, ever maintaining the guard without. And as they presented themselves ever with thanks, he would salute me, and caused each of them to haue foure or fise pound of bread giuen them. This done, I asked him for the coyne and ground he promised me. He told me I should haue it, but he expected to haue all these men lay their armes at his feet, as did his subjects. I tolde him that was a ceremonie our enemies

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mies desired, but never our friends, as we presented our selves unto him, yet that he should not doubt of our friendship: the next day my father would give him a child of his, in full assurance of our loves, and not only that but when he should thinke it convenient, we would deliver under his subjection the Country of Manacum and Pocoughaconack his enemies.

This so contented him, as immediately with attentive silence, with a lowd oration he proclaimed me Aweroanec of Powhatan, and that all his subjects should so esteeme vs, and no man account vs strangers nor Wapahigbans, but Powhatans, and that the Coyns, weomen and Country, should be to vs as to his owne people: this proffered kindness for many reasons we contented not, but with the best Languages and signs of thanks I could expresse, I took my leave.

The King rising from his seat, conducted me softly, and caused each of my men to have as much more bread as he could beare: giving me some in a basket, & as much he sent a board for a present to my father: victuals you must know is all there wealth, and the greatest kindness they could shew vs: arriving at the River, the Barge was taken so low with the ebbe, though I had given order and oft sent to prevent the same, yet the messengers deceived me, the Skies being very thicke and rainie, the King understanding this mischance, sent his Sonne and Mamontacke, to conduct me to a great house sufficient to lodge me, where entering I saw it hung round with bowes and arrowes.

The Indians used all diligence to make vs fires, & give vs content: the kings Oratores presently entertained vs with a kinde oration, with expresse charge that not any should steale, or take out bowes or arrowes, or offer any injury.

Presently after he sent me a quarter of Venison to stay my stomacke: in the evening he sent for me to come onely

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with two that took me : the company I gave order to stand upon their guard, & to maintaine two sentries at the pozt's all night. To my supper he set before me meate for twenty men, & seeing I could not ease, he caused it to be given to my men : for this is a generall custome, that what they give, not to take againe, but you must either eat it, give it away, or carry it with you : two of these houres we spent in our ancient discourses, which done, I was with a fire stick lighted to my lodging.

The next day the King conducting me to the River, shewed me his Canoes, and described unto me how he sent them over the Baye, for tribute Beades: and also what Countries paye him Beans, Copper or Skins. But seeing Captaine Nuport, and Pailler Scriuener, comming a shoze, the King returned to his house, and I went to meet him, with a trumpet before him, we marched to the King : who after his old manner kindly received him, especially a Boy of thirten yeares old, called Thomas Salvage, whom he gave him as his name : he requited this kindnes with each of us a great basket of Beanes, and entertaining him with the former discourse, we passed away that day, and agreed to bargain the next day, and so returned to our Pinnis : the next day comming a shoze in like order, the King having kindly entertained us with a breakfast, questioned with us in this manner.

Why we came armed in that sort, seeing he was our friend, and had neither bowes nor arrowes, what did we doubt : I told him it was the custome of our Country, not doubting of his kindnes any waies, wherewith though he seemed satisfied, yet Captaine Nuport caused all our men to retire to the water side, which was some thirtie score from thence : but to prevent the worst, Pailler Scriuener or I were either the one or other by the Barge, experience had well taught me to believe his friendship, till convenient opportunity suffered him to betray us, but quickly this politi-
tion

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lian had perceived my absence, and cunningly sent for me : I sent for Maister Scrivener to supply my place, the King would demand for him, I would againe release him, and they sought to satiffie our insipition with kind Language, and not bring agreed to trade for coze, he desired to see all our Hatchets and Copper together, for which he would give us coze, with that ancient trick the Chickahamians had oft acquainted us : his offer I refused, offering first to see what he would give for one piece, he seeming to despise the nature of a Merchant, did coze to sell, but we freely should give him, and he liberally would requite us.

Captaine Nuport would not with lesse then twelve great Coppers try his kindnes, which he liberally requited with as much coze as at Chickahamania, I had for one of lesse proportion : our Hatchets he would also have at his owne rate, for which kindnes he much seemed to affect Captaine Nuport, some few bunches of beate Beades I had, which he much desired, and seeing so few, he offered me a basket of two pecks, and that which I knew to be three pecks at the least, and yet seemed contented and desired more : I agreed with him the next day for two bushells, for he ebbe now constrained us to returne to our Boats, although he earnestly desired us to stay dinner which was a poulding, and being ready he sent aboard after us, which was bread and berrizon, sufficient for fittie or thirtie persons.

The next day he sent his Sonne in the morning not to bring a Horse with us any pieces, lest his women and children should feare. Captaine Nuports good beliefs would have satisfied that request, yet twentie or thentie five shot we got a Horse : the King importuning me to leave my armes a board, much misliking my sword, pistoll and target, I told him the men that slew my Brother with the like tearmes had perswaded me, and being tharmed shot at us, and so betraide us.

He oft entreated Captaine Nuport that his men might

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leane their armes, which still he commanded to the water side, this day we spent in trading for beles Beads, and having weare straightened our Barge.

Captaine Nuport returned with them that came aboard, leaving me and Spalfer Scrivener a shoze, to follow in Canoes; into one I got with five of our men, which being launched a stones cast from the shoze such fast in the Die: Spalfer Scrivener seeing this example, with seven or eight more passed the dreadfull byrge, thinking to have found deeper water on the other cranks, but they were enforced to stay with such entertainment as a saivage, being forced a shoze with wind and rains, having in his Canoe, as commonly they have, his house and household, instantly set by a house of mats which succoured them from the Ryme.

The Indians seeing we perished in the Die, called to me, five or seven of the things which men throw off their skins, and to the middle in Die, came to bear me out on their heads, their importunacie caused me better to like the Canoe then their curtesie, excusing my deniall for feare to fall into the Die, desiring them to bring me some wood, fire, and mats, to cover me, and I would content them: each presently gave his helps to satisfie my request, which paines a house would scarce have indured, yet a couple of bells richly contented them.

The Emperors sent his freeman Mantuas in the evening with bread and victuall for me and my men, he no more scrupulous then the rest seemed to take a pride in shewing how little he regarded that miserable cold and durty passage, though a dogs house would scarce have indured it, this kindness I found, when I little expected lesse then a mischief, but the blacks night parting our companies, ere midnight the flood served to carry us aboard: the next day we came a shoze, the King with a solemn discourse causing all to depart, but his principall men, and this was the effect, when as he perceived that we had a desire to invade Monacum, against

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gainst whom he was no professed enemy, yet thus farre he would assist vs in this enterprize: First he would send his spies, perfectly to understand their strength and ability to fight, with which he would acquaint vs himselfe.

Captaine Nuport would not be sene in it himselfe, being great Werowances, they would stay at home, but J, Spalfer Scriuener, and two of his Sonnes, and Opechankanough. The King of Pamaunke should haue 100. of his men to goe befoze as though they were hunting, they giuing vs notice where was the advantage we should kill them, the women and young children he wished we should spare, & bying them to him, only 100. of 150. of our men he held sufficient for this exploit: our boats should stay at the falls, where we might hew timber, which we might conuey each man a peece till we were past the stones, and there ioyne them, to passe our men by water, if any were shot, his men should bying them backe to our boats, this faire tale had almost made Captaine Nuport undertake, by this meanes to discover the South sea, which will not be without trecherie, if our ground our intent vpon his constancie.

This day we spent in trading, dancing, and much mirth, the King of Pamaunke sent his messenger, as yet not knowing Captaine Nuport, to come vnto him: who had long expected me, desiring also my father to visite him: the messenger stayed to conduct vs, but Powhatan understanding that we had Hatchets lately come from Paspahegh, desired the next day to trade with vs, and not to go further.

This newe tricke he cunningly put vpon him, but onely to haue what he listed, and to try whether we would go or stay. Opechankenoughs messenger returned that we should not come the next day his Daughter came to entreat me, shewing her father had hurt his legges, and much sorrowed he could not see me.

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Captaine Nuport being not to be perswaded to goe in, that Powhatan had desired us to stay : sent her away with the like answer, yet the next day upon better consideration intreatie prevailed, and we anchored at Cinquoateck, the first town above the parting of the river, where dwelled two Kings of Pamaunke, Brothers to Powhatan: the one called Opitchapam, the other Katatough, to these I went a shoze, who kindly intreated me and Master Scruener, sending some presents aboard to Captaine Nuport, whilst we were trucking with these Kings.

Opechankanough his wife, twewomen, and children came to meete me with a naturall kind affection, he seemed to reioyce to see me.

Captaine Nuport came a shoze, with many kind discourses was passed that forenoone: and after dinner, Captaine Nuport went about with the Pinnis to Menapacant which is twenty miles by water, and not one by land: Opechankanough, conducted me and Master Scruener by land, where having built a feasting house a purpose to entertaine us with a kind Oration, after their manner and his best provision, kindly welcomed us, that day he would not trucke, but did his best to delight us with content: Captaine Nuport arrived towards evening, whom the King presented with six great platters of fine bread, and Panlawmama, the next day till none was traded: the King feasted all the company, and the afternoon was spent in playing, dauncing, and delight, by no means he would have us depart till the next day, he had feasted us with venison, for which he had sent, having spent his first and second provision in expecting our coming: the next day he performed his promise, giving more to us than then would have sufficed 30, and in that we carried not away what we left, he sent it after us to the Pinnis, with what words or signes of love he could express. we departed.

Captaine Nuport in the Pinnis, leaving me in the Barge

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Barge to digge a rocke, where we supposed a Spine at Cinquaoteck, which done, ere midnight I arrived at Weracomoco, where our Winns anchored, being 20. miles from Cinquaotecke, the next day we took leave of Powhatan, who in regard of his kindnes gave him an Indian, he well affected to goe with him for England in stead of his Sonne, & cause I assure me was to know our strength and Countries condition: & next day we arrived at Kiskiack, the people so coznesally entertained us, as with what signes of scozne and discontent we could, we departed and returned to our foyt with 250. bushells of Cozne, our president being not wholly recovered of his sickness, in discharging, his Blace brake and split his hand off, which he is not yet well recovered.

At Captaine Nuports arrivall, we were victualled for twelue weekes, and having furnished him of what he thought good, he set saile for England the tenth of April: Pailler Scriuener and my selfe with our Challop, accompanied him to Captaine Hendrick.

Powhatan having for a farewell, sent him five or six mens loadings, with Torches for swoyes, which he sent him in our return to & yet we discovered the Auer of Nau-sam, a proud warlike Nation, as well we may testified, at our first arrivall at Chesapiack: but that injury Captaine Nuport well remenged at his returne, where some of them intifing him to their Ambuscadoes by a dance, bes perceiving their intent, with a volley of musket shot, slew one, and shot one or two more, as themselves confesse, the King of our arrivall sent for me to come unto him: I sent him word what commodities I had to exchange for wheat, and if he would as had the rest of his Neighbours, conclude a Peace, we were contented, at last he came before the Boate which rid at anchor some foytie yards from & thence, he signified to me to come a shoze, and sent a Canow with foure or five of his men, two whereof I desired to come aboard

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board & to stay, & I would send two to talke with their King a Hoys, to this he agreed: the King wee presented with a piece of Copper, which he kindly excepted, and sent for victuals to entertaine the messengers.

Pauster Scriuener and my selfe also, after that went a Hoys: the King kindly seasken vs, requesting vs to stay to trade till the next day, which having done, we returned to the Foxt, this river is a musket shot broad, each side being should bayes, a narrow channell but three fathom, his course for eightene miles, almost directly South, and by West, where beginneth the first inhabitants, for a mile it turneth directly East, towards the West, a great bay and a white chankie Island, convenient for a Foxt: his next course South, where within a quarter of a mile, the river divideth in two, the neck a plaine high Cozne field, the wester bought a high plaine likewise, the Foxt heast answerable in all respects: in these plaines are planted abundance of houses and people, they may containe 1000. Acres of most excellent fertill ground, so sweete, so pleasant, so beautifull, and so strong a prospect, for an invincible strong City, with so many commodities, that I know as yet I haue not seene: This is within one daies journey of Chawwonocke, the river falleth into the Kings river, within twelue miles of Cape-hendicke.

At our Foxt, the foles we had there so ordinarily stolen by the Indians, as necessity enforced vs to correct their buying thenerie: so he that stole to day, durst come againe the next day. One amongst the rest, having stolen two swords, I got the Counsels consent to set in the bilboes: the next day with three more, he came with their wooden swords in the midst of our men to steale, their custome is to take any thing they can seaze off, onely the people of Pamunke, wee haue not found stealing: but what others can steale, their King receiveth.

I had them depart, but flourishing their swords, they
singed

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failed to defend what they could catch but out of our hands, his pride began me to turne him from amongst vs, whereat he offered to strike me with his sword, which I presented, striking him first: the rest offering to revenge the blow, received such an encounter, and fled; the better to affright them, I pursued them with five or sixe shot, and so chased them out of the Island: the beginning of this voyage, little expecting by his carriage, we durst have realised, having even till that present, not bene contradicted, especially them of Paspahgh: these Indians within one houre, having by other Salvages, then in the Fort, understood that I threatened to be reneged, came presently of themselves, and fell to working upon our wears, which were then in hand by other Salvages, who seeing their pride so incourted, were so so submissive, and willing to doe any thing as might be, and with trembling feare, desired to be friends within thre daies after: from Newfamond which is 30. miles from vs, the King sent vs a Hatchet, which they had stolen from vs at our being there: the messenger as is the custome, also was well rewarded and contented.

The twenty of April, being at worke, in helving downe Trees, and setting Cozne, an alarm caused vs with all speed to take our armes, each expecting a new assault of the Salvages: but understanding it a Boate under saile, our doubts were presently satisfied, with the happy sight of Pauller Nelson, his many perills of extreme stormes and tempests. His ship well, as his company could testify: his care in sparing our provision, was well: but the providence thereof, as also of our stones, Hatchets, and other toles, onely ours excepted, which of all the rest was most necessary, which might enforce vs, to think either a seditious traitor to our action, or a most unconscionable deceiver of our treasures. This happy arrivall of Pauller Nelson in the Phenix, having bene then about thre monethes missing, after Captaine Nuports arrivall, being to all our expectations

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plications lost: albeit, that now at the last, having bene
 long crossed with tempestuous weather, and contrary
 winds, his so unexpected coming, was so rashly vs with ex-
 tending to, that now we thought our selves as well fitted,
 as our harts could wish, both with a competent number of
 men, as also for all other needfull provisions, till a further
 supply should come into vs: whereupon the first thing that
 was concluded, was, that my selfe, and Spalier Scruener,
 should with 70. men goe with the best meanes we could
 provide, to discourse beyond the Falls, as in our iudgements
 conveniently we might: five or seaven daies we spent
 in training, our men to march, fight, and skirmish in the
 woods, their willing minds to this action, so quickned their
 understanding in this exercise, as in all iudgements we
 were better able to fight with Powhatans whole forces: in
 our order of battle amongst the Trees, (so: Whichs there is
 few) then the Foxt was to repulse 400. at the first assault,
 with some tenne or twenty shot, not knowing what to doe,
 nor how to use a Piece: our warrant being sealed, Spalier
 Nelsonr refused to assist vs with the voluntary Parriners,
 and himselfe as he promised, unless we would stand bound
 to pay the hire for shippes, and Parriners, for the time they
 stayed: and further there was some controuersie, though
 the diuersitie of Contrary opinions, some alleging, that
 how profitable, and to what good purpose, sooner our jour-
 ney should portend, yet our commission, commanding no
 certaine designs, we should be taxed for the most indiscrete
 men in the world, besides the wrong we should doe to Cap-
 taine Nuport, to whom only all discoveries did belong, and
 to no other: the meanes for guides, beside the vncertaine
 courses of the river, from which we could not erre much,
 each night would suffice vs in two houres, better then that
 they first called the Foxt, their Townes vpon the river, each
 within one dayes journey of other, besides our ordinary
 provision, might well be supposed to adde reliefe: to truck
 and

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dealing only, but in some peace, as to the rest; if they assisted us, their Townes they cannot defend, nor their luggage so convey, that we should not share, but admit the worst, 16. daies provision we had of Cheese, Beane-meale, and blisset besides our rations, we could and might have bin in the ground. With five men, Captaine Martin, would have undertaken it himselfe, leaving the rest to defend the fort, and plant our Coyne: yet no reason could be reason, to proceede sozward, though we were going aboard to set saile: These discontentes caused so many doubts to some, and discouragement to others, as our journey ended: yet some of us procured petitions to let us sozward, only with hope of our owne confusions, our next course was to turne husband-men, to till Wines and set Coyne. fiftie of our men, we imployed in this service, the rest kept the fort, to doe the command of the president, and Captaine Martin, 30. dayes the ship lay expecting the trial of certain matters, which for some cause I keepe private: the next exploit was an Indian having stolen an Axe, was so pursued by Maister Scruener, & then next him, as he threw it downe, and flying, unto his bow at any that durst encounter him: within foure or five dayes alter, Maister Scruener and I, being a litle from the fort, among the Coyne, two Indians, each with a cudgell, and all newly painted with Terrasigillate, came circling about me, as though they would have clubbed me like a hare: I knew their faining love to towards me, not without a deadly hatred, but to prevent the worst, I calling maister Scruener retired to the fort: the Indians seeing me suspect them, with good reason, asked me for some of their men, whom they would beate, and went with me into our fort, finding one that lay ordinarily with us, only for a spie: they offered to beate him, I in perswading them to saybeare, they offered to beginne with me, being now foure, for two other arrayed in like manner, came in on the other side the fort: whereupon I caused to shut the doore, and apprehend them. The

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president and Councill, being presently acquainted, remembering at the first assault, they came in like manner, and never else but against some villanie, concluded to commit them to prison, and expect the event, eight more we craied at that present, an houre after came three or foure other strangers, extraordinarily fitted with arrowes, shinnes, and shooting glones, their iraconie and feare, betwaged their bad intent, as also their suspitious departure.

The next day came first an Indian, then another as Combaconos to their men, they desired to speake with me, our discourse was, that what Spades, Shouells, Swords, or toles they had stolne, to bring home (if not the next day, they should hang) the next newes was, they had taken two of our men, ranging in the woods, which mischiefe no punishment will prevent but hanging, and these they would should redeme their owne 16. or 18. thus hazing us to our dyes, we desired the president, and Capitaine Martin, that afternoon to sally upon them, that they might but know, what we durst to doe, and at night mand our Barge, and burnt their Houses, and spoiled, and destroyed, what we could, but they brought our men, and freely deliuered them: the president released one, the rest we brought well guarded, to Morning and Evening prayers. Our men all in armes, their trembling feare, then caused them to much sorrow, which till then scoffed, and scorned at what we durst doe, the Councill concluded, that I should terrifie them with some torture, to knowe if I could knowe their intent, the next day I bound one in hold, to the maine Mast, and presenting fire Pistols with match in the cockes, forced him to desire life, to answer my demands he could not, but one of his Comonodos was of the councill of Paspahegh, that could satisfie me: I releasing him out of sight, I affrighted the other, first with the rack, then with Pistols, which seeing, he desired me to stay, and he would confesse to this execution Paister Scriuener came, his discourse was to this

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this effect, that Paspehegh, the Chickahamianar, Youghtanum, Pamaunka, Mattapanient, & Kiskiack. These persons were altogether a hunting that took me, Paspahegh, & Chickahamany, had entended to surprize vs at wozke, to haue had our tols: Powhatan, & al his would same friends, till Captaine Nuports returne, that he had againe his men, which he called Namonrack, where with a great feast he would so enamo: Captain Nuport & his men, as then should cease on him, and the like traps would be laid for him.

This trap for our toles, was suspected the chief occasion was foure daies betoze Powhatan had sent the boy he had to vs, with many Turkies to Haister Scriuener, and me, vnderstanding I would go vp into his Countreies to destroy them, and he doubted if the moze, in that I so oft practised my men, whose shooting he heard to his owne lodging, that much feared his wiues, and childen; we sent him wo:ds, we entended no such thing, but only to goe to Powhatan, to take stones to make Hatchets, except his men shot at vs, as Paspahegh had told vs they would, which if they did shote but one arrowe, we would destroy them, and least this mischief might happen, sent the boy to acquaint him therewith, and request him to send vs Weanock, one of his subjects for a guide, & boy he returned backe with his Chest, & apparell, which then we had giuen him, desiring another for him, & cause was, he was practising with the Chickahamianias, as the boy suspected some villanie, by their extraordinary resort, & secret conference from whence they would send him. The boy we kept, not that we would send him many wels, sengers, & presents, the guide we desired he sent vs & withall requested vs to returne him, either the boy, or some other, but none he could haue, & that day these Indians were apprehended, his sonne with others & had loaded at our ffort, returned & being out of the ffort, rayled on me, to make of our men to be enemies to him, & to & Chickahamianias and long after Weanock & had him with vs for our gaue, to whom we kept to haue conduct: vs in another lodging, to a little further

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returned, and secretly after him, Amocis the Paspahayan, who alwaies they kept amongst vs for a pie, to whom the better to auoide suspicion, presently after they came to breake away: these presumptions induced me to take any occasion, not onely to try the honesty of Amocis, the pie, but also the meaning of these cunning trickes of their Emperour of Powhatan; whose true meaning Captaine Marion most constantly pleaded.

Their Relation of Macanoc, which was the counsellor of Paspahay: first J. then Pailler Scriuener, upon their severall examinations, round by them all confirmed, that Paspahay, and Chickahamminia his hate vs, and intended some mischief, and who they were that take me, the names of them that stole our swines, and swoyds, and that Powhatan received them, they all agreed: certaine bolles of shot we caused to be discharged, which caused each other to thinke that their fellows had bene slaine.

Powhatan understanding we detained certaine Walwages, sent his Daughter, a child of tenne yeares old, which not only for feature, countenance, & proportion, much excelled any of the rest of his people, but for wit, and spirit, the only Nonpareil of his Countrey: this hee sent by his most trustie messenger, called Rawhunt, as much exceeding in desozmity of person, but of a subtil wit, and crafty understanding. He with a long circumstance, told me, how well Powhatan, loved and respected me, and in that I should not doubt any way of his kindnesse. he had sent his child, which he most esteemed, to see me, & Dære, and beare, besides for a present: desiring me that the Boy might come againe, which he loved exceedingly, his little Daughter hee had taught this lesson also: not taking notice at all of the Indians that had bene prisoners these daies, till that morning that she sawe their fathers and friends come quietly, and in good tearmes to entreate their libertie.

Opechaukanough, sent also unto vs, that for his sake, we would

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would release two that were his friends, and soz a token sent me his Shooting Stone, and Baccr, which the day our men was taken vpon, separating himselfe from the rest a long time, intreated to speake with me, where in token of peace, he had preferred me the same: now all of them having found their peremptorie conditions, but to increase our malice, which they seeing vs begin to threaten to destroy them, as familiarly as before, without suspition, or feare, came amongst vs, to begge libertie soz their men: In the afternoon they being gone, we guarded them as before to the Church, and after prayer, gave them to Pocahuntas, the Kings Daughter, in regard of her fathers kindnesse in sending her: after having well fed them, as all the time of their imprisonment, we gave them their bowes, arrows, or what else they had, and with much content, sent them packing: Pocahuntas, also we requested, with such trifles as contented her, to tel that we had blessed the Paspahyans very kindly in so releasing them. The next day we had suspicion of some other practise soz an Ambucado, but perfectly we could not discover it, two daies after a Paspahyan, came to shew vs a glistering Minerall Stone: and with signes demonstrating it to be in great abundance, like unto Rocks, with some dozen more, I was sent to seeke to digge some quantitie, and the Indian to conduct me: but suspecting this some tricke to delude vs, soz to get some Copper of vs, or with some ambucado to betray vs, seeing him falter in his tale, being two miles on our way, led him ashoze, where abusing vs from place to place, and so seeking either to haue beawne vs with him into the woods, or to haue giuen vs the slippe: I shewed him Copper, which I promised to haue giuen him, if he had performed his promise, but soz his scoffing and abusing vs, I gave him twentie lathes with a Rope, and his bowes and arrows, bidding him shew vs if he durst, and so let him goe.

In all this time, our men being all or the most part well recovered,

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recovered, and we not willing to trifle away anye time then
necessitie enforced vs vnto, we thought good for the better
content of the aduenturers, in some reasonable sort to
traight home Paister Nelson with Cedar wood, about
which, our men going wth willing minds, was in very good
time effected, and the ship sent for England; we now re-
maining being in good health, all our men well contented, free
from mutinies, in loue one wth another, & as we hope in a
continall peace with the Indians, where we doubt not but
by Gods gracious assistance, and the aduenturers willing
minds, and spawle furtherance to so honorable an action in
after times, to see our Nation to enioy a Country, not onely
exceeding pleasant for habitation, but also very profitable for
commerce in generall, no doubt pleasing to almighty God,
honourable to our gracious Soveraigne, and commodious
generally to the whole Kingdome.

FINIS.



In the Stationers Registers, Vol. III. p.
172, 13 August, 1608, is this entry:

"William Welby. Entered for their
John Lappa/ copie under the hands
of master Wilson and
the warden ^{Master} Lownes/
A booke called A true
relation", i.e. giving this
title substantially, but
concluding with - "till
master Shelsons com-
ming away from thence
&c."

Captain Shelson left
Virginia on the 2 June
1608, & by the 10th July
had arrived at London.
See "Birth & Times of James
I." I. 76.